585 On the fourth day the bride returns to her parents' house with the groom. They do not talk to each other on the way. Upon arrival, the new son-in-law greets his parents-in-law with offerings of sheep, pigs, and wine and is in turn entertained with wine by them. The same afternoon he returns 591 home without the bride, who remains in her parents' home. This custom is called tso-chia, meaning "staying home."

The tso-chia period varies from one or two years to three or five. During this inspection trip [58], the author frequently met brides who had been staying home with their parents. While there, she can enjoy a loose romantic life without [837] being interfered with by father or elder brothers who pretend to pay no attention to her. During her stay with her parents, she wears the same dress as the bride. Day and night she chases and plays around with the young men of the neighborhood or her male cross cousins. She, too, enjoys sexual freedom.

During the same period the groom can also contact the bride and make love. It is only when the bride becomes pregnant 843 that the groom takes her to his father's house. The first 848 child usually is not the child of the groom, but he has to recognize it as his child.

592 Having learned that his bride is pregnant, the groom immediately sets out to build a new house for the bride to live in as no married son can stay in the same house with his parents. [583] After the husband and wife have formally lived together, the wife's father's family then sends the entire dowry to them. [428] Among the Lolo, both male and female have the right of inheritance; therefore, the daughter's dowry is also a part of the property given her by her parents. It includes silver, slaves, food, oxen, sheep, and even land.

594 Because of this marriage relationship, the Lolo newlyweds have the economic basis to establish a family. The 583 house built for them by the parents of the man's family and the dowry sent by the girl's family all provide the economic conditions necessary for establishing a family. After that, the couple live a normal family life, both male and female cooperating in efforts for economic improvement. They bear and rear children to shoulder the common parental responsibility.

593 Although a Lolo wife is obtained through money payment and her marriage is one form of bartered marriage, she 562 has the same position in the family as the man. Since they have a small family and do not live with the husband's parents, there is no problem of conflict between mother-in-law and

593 daughter-in-law. The wife has the full authority to manage
562 household affairs because the husband is always away
making political contacts, fighting clan feuds, or other activi-
[462] ties. Assigning the slaves to such household work as farming,
cattle-breeding, weaving, cooking, taking care of the chil-
dren, storage of food, repairing tools, and others is all done
and supervised by the mistress of the house.

593 The outward relationship between husband and wife is formal. They do not speak to each other carelessly or laugh without cause. When Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, the headman-protector of our inspection team, returned home after having been away for three months, he did not say a single word to his wife En-cha shih when they first met. They looked as though they had never seen each other before. On the other hand, Ta-chi's brothers and sisters all ran in to greet him, talking and laughing intimately. It was only after the clan members had dispersed that Ta-chi had a tête-à-tête with his wife. Much exhausted after the long journey, he lay down on the floor to doze off as En-cha shih sat beside the stove, smoking and talking incessantly. [59] Apparently she was reporting what had happened at home during his absence. Although his eyes were closed, Ta-chi listened quietly, sometimes interrupting her with a few words as though to comfort or to criticize. At that time, the inspection personnel and the interpreters had gone elsewhere, but I was too fatigued from travel to go outside. So I was also sitting on the ground to rest and had a chance to observe their conversation.

593 Being built on a solid economic basis, the Lolo family
562 has no worries about daily food and clothing. This stabilized
614 life makes husband and wife live together harmoniously and
pass their days in peace and ease. Sometimes, however,
their relationship may become strained and conflict arise. In
such a case, the husband dare not mistreat or beat his wife
because of her strong family background. If the wife should
[628] rush back to her parents' home to complain of ill treatment
from her husband, her clan members would immediately
gather together to organize a punitive force. If the husband's
clan offers any resistance, then the conflict would develop
into a clan feud. So due to the support of her parents' clan,
the wife occupies quite a high status in the family.

586 The wife seldom elopes with another man. When it
happens, the husband can request his parents-in-law to repay
the betrothal money. The latter do their best to find the woman
and return her to her husband. On the other hand, if the hus-
band does not like his wife or if he has another woman and

628 If the clan feud becomes enlarged in scope and two or
614 more clans are united in an effort to resist the common ene-
726 my, then the able-bodied fighters of the different clans would assemble and together perform a ceremony to seal the alliance. They would kill chickens and animals, toast each other with wine mixed with blood, and swear to attack the enemy and help each other to the last man.

628 At the end of the Ch'ing dynasty and the beginning of
726 the Republic period, when guns were not yet brought to Liang
[411] Shan, weapons for Lolo warfare consisted of bows and arrows, poles and sticks, leather shields, long knives, stone pellets, and others. Fighting with these arms had to be done at close quarters, [86] and so it was called hsieh-tou [armed fight]. During the fight, the participants had to wear full regalia to the
[714] field to display their military pomp. Their heads were wrapped in a turban propped up like a "hero's knot." They wore silk
[492] garments ornamented with gold. Even the horses were fitted with golden saddles and silver stirrups. All these were intended to demonstrate their wealth and power to overawe the enemy.

726 This kind of armed fighting, however, exists in name
628 only, since the Lolo are now accustomed to using shotguns
177 for hitting targets beyond 100 paces. Also the fighting between clan enemies no longer requires the display of finery; instead, they have adopted the strategy of swift surprise attack, like a clap of thunder too sudden for one to cover his ears. It merely indicates that the introduction of modern technology has changed their old strategy and created a new pattern of fighting.

562 During the old days of armed fighting, some black Lolo
728 woman would come to the field of battle in gay dresses and,
628 standing between the opposing camps, would urge the two sides to stop fighting and talk peace. This woman was usually related to both clans — for example, her maternal [sic] clan on the one side and her conjugal clan on the other. According to Lolo
[517 tradition the appearance of a woman on the field would have
762] obligated both sides to stop fighting, but if they insisted on continuing the feud, then the woman would strip herself naked by taking off her skirt and then commit suicide because of the shame. When such things happened, more kin branches and clans might become involved, the scope of the feud be enlarged, and eventually the fighting reach a stage beyond anybody's control. The importing of shotguns has changed the manner of fighting while the custom of a woman's standing between the opposing camps has all but disappeared. During his stay in

563 Liang Shan, the author learned, however, that at least in one
728 case shooting between two enemy clans came to a halt, thanks
628 to a widow's intercession. Should one of the opposite sides disregard the widow's advice, then her conjugal clan, her maternal [sic] clan, and her mother's maternal [sic] clan would unite together to attack the common enemy. Lolo tradition respects the opinion of widows. If a widow should come forward to the field, clan-feud fighting would ordinarily cease.

628 In Lolo strategy one side usually bands together and
726 makes a stealthy march without the other's knowledge to give the opponents a heavy blow. On the other hand, members of the opposite side, having contracted a feud, are also prepared for emergencies at any time. They would send someone to scout on the road and to hurry back, whenever they find anything suspicious, to relay the information to the clan which would then assemble its adults and dispatch them to resist the invasion. It has been mentioned previously that the Li-ch'ü and Pu-chi branches have been clan enemies for generations. When the author traveled in Pa-p'u, he personally witnessed a fight between these two branches. One early morning, the head of the household, Li-ch'ü Yo-ha, aroused the author from a sweet dream and said that a clan feud was being fought on the other side of the river. Immediately the author got out of bed, dressed, and rushed outside the village in the footsteps of the old black Lolo. When we reached the slope along the river bank, we saw more than a dozen persons already seated in a row and talking to each other. Among them were two of the interpreters, to whom the author complained of their failure to inform him beforehand of this very important incident. Looking down the slope, the author saw across the river more than a dozen able-bodied men with guns on their shoulders, chasing the enemy along the bank. [87] They opened fire westward at the village of Pu-chi-lai-wo, firing continuously more than a dozen shots. Then silence followed, signifying that the fighting was already at an end. As it happened, Pu-chi-lai-wo and I-lu, a village of the Li-ch'ü branch across the river, had been fighting each other repeatedly for some time. Last night, 1/1 the Pu-chi clan dispatched a band of able-bodied men to lie in ambush in the mountain behind the village of I-lu. They waited until early morning when they heard the cocks crow and then opened fire on the village with the intention of attacking it so as to kill and pillage. Lolo tradition forbids midnight attack by clan enemies, who have to wait until cockcrow before they see action. This unwritten law of the Lolo has to be obeyed by all, and violators would be subject

1/1 [Errata. Should be "The night before." —Analyst]

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

apologies, for they were very willing indeed to tell me every- 123
thing I wanted to know.

The retainers who had come with us were lodged in another 562
house, belonging to one of the slaves of Ah-pooh. I went down and sat with the folk there for a while. The wife in the little home was very friendly, asking me a lot of questions. Her daughter sat by her side nursing a six-month-old baby. They were all very free with us. The Chinaman who came spying was in the house also, and did not get on very well with the wife of the slave. She had asked him to give her a couple of feet of hair cord from the stock which he carried with him and he had refused. Later on he went to help himself to a drink of water from the tub which the woman had carried in. She immediately stopped him, telling him that he was strong enough to go and carry his own water. Evidently it was no hair cord, no free drinks. The man could hardly believe that the woman meant what she said, and tried again. The woman, however, stood up vigorously to him, and whenever he tried to get the drink of water she pushed him away. It was a revelation to the Chinese, coming as he did from a land where woman has ever been given a low place, and where the proverb compares the wife to a tub of water in which the husband can wash his feet and when he has finished throw it away.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we had breakfast. This 264
time it was not a goat but a fine pig that had been slaughtered, 262
with much squealing and yelling, about twelve o'clock. There were the usual trenchers on the floor, also two spoons and three wooden basins. One basin contained ten pounds of pork, another the gravy, and the third four buckwheat cakes weighing about half-a-pound each. We did full justice

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

CHAPTER XVI

MORALITY OF THE ABORIGINALS

522
562

ONE of the Nosu who went across the Yangtse with us was a relative of the people who lived at the See-tieh farmstead. Going outside the house on one occasion, I saw a number of the slave girls of the establishment "ragging" this young fellow in a more lively way than he seemed to relish. They were pushing and pulling him about quite roughly, and apparently very much enjoying the fun. The young fellow, being alone, was no match for this lively bevy of farm girls. Ragging is more common among Orientals than has been supposed. One can pick up some lively stories of the ragging of Chinese bridegrooms by the women of the household when he takes his bride home to her friends on the third day after the wedding. Here again we found that in Nosuland the scene we looked on, where the young man was getting quite the worst of the fun, was in accordance with Nosu customs. If a young man pays a visit to any of his relatives the women and slave girls of the household are allowed to get what fun they can out of the visitor. If he objects, this only adds more fuel to the fire of the fun. If he is good-natured and joins in as heartily as the rest he wins the respect of the girls, which is quite worth winning. One part of the fun is to get a gourd of water and try to throw it all over the visitor. He, of course, knows what to expect, and is on his guard and pays them back as well as he can.

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

My Chinese "boy," seeing this ragging going on, wondered why this Nosu relative took it all so meekly. He resolved to go to the rescue. He had the usual Chinese ideas of the inferiority of women, and though he himself has a wife who is far smarter than he, and knows how to rule, he still keeps up the fiction that women are inferior, and should always be submissive to their husbands. As soon, however, as the Chinaman went to the rescue of the ragged man the Nosu girls gave him such a time of it that he was glad to clear out in quick time, a wiser man. The girls were having fun with the relative, but with the Chinese it would have been dead earnest, and he was wise enough to take the hint. He resolved not to interfere in family affairs, even though his Chinese sense of propriety was grossly outraged.

In the relations of the sexes the aboriginals of West China differ widely from the Chinese. The purdah and the zenana are unknown among the former. In fact they have gone to the other extreme. Men and women freely mix together, and talk without restraint. With the majority of the tribes and clans this has resulted in gross immorality. One reason why the Chinese so despise the aboriginals is that the latter are so openly immoral and engage in practices which are abhorrent to Chinese ideas. It does not follow for one moment that because the Chinese so despise these aboriginals they themselves are pure and moral. The Chinese have an ideal of purity, and to their eternal credit let it be said that they have never exalted or deified vice. You may go into any of their temples all over the land and see nothing in their idol statues which will shock your sense of decency. You get a far greater shock in Western picture galleries than you do

S: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

CHAPTER XX

RAPIDS AHEAD

WE got away from Gu-tieh about twelve o'clock, and made our way towards a farmhouse where lived Vri-ha. He was the man who had met us the first night we stayed in Nosuland, the man whom the Defender of the Yangtse had tried to make his tool, in bringing to a disastrous end the foreigner who had determined to get into Nosuland the unknown. The weather was still desperately cold, and I was glad we were walking and not on horseback. At the end of the first six miles we halted for a while at Shih-ha Chieh-ku. This is a village of a few houses. A number of the people came out to see us, and sat down on the cold ground to watch us at leisure. One woman felt very cold, and called out something to a man standing by. Immediately he came across, sat down behind the woman who had called him, and threw his long cloak over her as well. The one cloak thus sheltered the two. This action of the man struck me at once, and the sight of the two sharing the same cloak was one which I had never seen in China proper, where there is such a barrier between the sexes. Whether it was her husband or her brother I do not know. I thought it was her husband, and was pleased to see how kind he was to his wife. Presently a young girl of about twelve joined them, and they all three huddled together, sheltered by the same cloak. In China, if a husband is with friends, and should by any accident meet his wife on the street, he

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

will probably pass by, without taking the slightest notice of her. As to putting himself out to share a cloak or an umbrella with her, it was and is almost unknown. Whatever else China is, she is not the land of chivalry. After the Revolution of 1911 things changed somewhat, and women began to come a little more to the fore. Men and women mixed more freely. In places nearer the coast, men and women walking arm in arm could be seen. That, however, is too great a change to be realised in inland China, where old customs are still prevalent, and where the men are still the lords of creation, and treat the women as if they were only necessary adjuncts to their lordly existence. After many years amongst this unchivalrous people, it was a great treat to spend some days among the people where men are not ashamed to be kind to women, and where women are not ashamed to look straight into a man's face and answer his questions. I shall not easily forget the man at Shih-hu Chieh-ku who threw his cloak over the woman, and so sheltered her from the biting cold of that December day.

One of the women who came out to see us had a small wool spinning-wheel stuck in her hair. Every now and again she took it out and began to twist it, letting it fall as she did so, thus making thread from a bundle of coarse wool she had. With this woollen thread a kind of serge is made, and used by the women in making their skirts.

On the way we received an invitation to attend a cremation, which was to take place on the morrow. I should very much like to have attended this up-to-date ceremony. It was, however, impossible to go unless we broke the plans made for us by the kind friends we were the guests of.

Up until now I had thoroughly enjoyed my stay among

to indicate contempt for womanhood, yet on the other hand, the social custom of the Lolo demands that special respect be shown to their women. In a family the man has unsurpassed power in name yet it is often the woman who has real authority--again a resemblance to the West and a departure from Chinese tradition. These inconsistencies are really quite amusing. A Heh-I, for example, may be contemptuous of the Wa-tzu, but he is always more polite to the female Wa-tzu. During relentless blood-feud fighting, a Heh-I woman may bring about a temporary truce by dashing into the midst of the enemy warriors and swinging her skirt. The continuation of fighting thereafter would be such an insult to the female truce-maker that she may even commit suicide. In this case the enmity between the two camps becomes even greater. It should be noted that this woman need not be a disinterested party, but may belong to one of the opposing camps. Unable to endure any longer the heavy losses, she may take up this responsibility on her own initiative. Mr. Hsü Hsiao-hui once related to us an amusing incident illustrating the respect in which women are held in Liang-shan and the influence they enjoy. During a trip in that region he and his companions arrived at a place where it was necessary to change protectors--a function customarily performed by a man (mostly the head of the family). Unfortunately all the men were out at the moment, and their only recourse was to engage as protector one of the three women left at home. At first Mr. Hsü deplored the situation, for a brave and strong man could at least put up a fight should they encounter danger. But later he was surprised at the special courtesy along the way when the party was seen accompanied by a Heh-I woman; thus they avoided many difficulties and received many unexpected favors.

The Lolo of Liang-shan also have a code of etiquette. They have definite seats around the kuo-chuang while entertaining guests at home. The guest of honor is seated near the back wall and other guests are placed on the side to his right. Regardless of the number of guests, they can sit only on these two sides. The host's place is on the side to the left of the guest of honor, a and that of the kuo-chuang Wa-tzu and slave girls is directly across. /115/ By nature the I are silent and dislike clamor; even a group of several tens of them never become boisterous with loud shouting. They are usually soft-spoken and not allowed to sneeze during meals. These good habits which the Chinese lack resemble Western customs. Of all impolite actions they consider breaking wind in the presence of others the most disrespectful. Eliminations are however not forbidden and may be most conveniently

culture, but less cunning in business matters and less energetic in the defense of their interests.

The Lolo smoke opium a great deal and this passion is highly prejudicial to their physical and intellectual development. Neither men nor women chew betel.

In their mode of living a truly characteristic custom should be noted, that the women are vegetarians after they have attained puberty. They may not eat the tiniest piece of the meat of pig, fowl, or dog and must not even prepare their food with grease. For this reason their cooking is done in special saucepans.

The dwelling is constructed either directly on the earth as among the Meo, or on piles as among the Tho. It is usually surrounded by fruit trees which give a picturesque appearance to the hamlets.

The Lolo, who in Tonkin are always somewhat overwhelmed in the midst of the Meo settlements, are easily influenced by their neighbors. They live in the same way, grow the same crops, and feed themselves in a similar fashion. The Meo, more greedy for gain and more energetic, are dispossessing them little by little from the better sections of ground, and there is every reason to believe that their conditions of existence will become more and more miserable.

Except the La Qua, all the Lolo varieties speak analogous dialects with characteristic syntax. They are the only ones who imitate the inversion of the Latin phrase by placing the object after the verb. All of these groups, detached for many long years from the large groups in Yunnan, have forgotten Lolo writing. Furthermore, they have not learned Chinese characters.

/There appear between pages 146 and 147 of the text the following two photographs: "Two White Lolo women"; "Two Black Lolo women."--translator/

Section 2

Costumes Peculiar to Each Variety

Each variety of the ethnic group is distinguished by a special costume.

The first is that of the White Lolo, an expression which is translated as Peu Lolo in Chinese, Mia Khao in Tho, and Mung za